

*Mu'ammara al-Qaddafi*

*BF (Libya)*

On Nov. 23, 19 days after hostages were seized at the American Embassy in Teheran, Oriana Fallaci, the Italian journalist, began what would be a two-day interview with Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, the revolutionary Moslem leader of Libya. Believing that "not only America but the whole West is tied and blindfolded in that embassy," Miss Fallaci sought in her conversation to probe the intentions of the Arab bloc in the expanding crisis.

Colonel Qaddafi, who is now 38 years old, rose to power on Sept. 1, 1969, after overthrowing the monarchy. He rules his Mediterranean nation of some 2.5 million — an area about three times the size of the state of Texas, with annual oil revenues of approximately \$16 billion — using precepts he has collected in a 2-by-3-inch "Green Book." He refers to his system of government as *Jamahiriya*, "command of the people."

Colonel Qaddafi is fervently Islamic and pro-Palestine, and he has built up an awesome arsenal of mainly Soviet weapons. He is considered both shrewd and quixotic (when a Libyan airliner was shot down over the Sinai Desert by Israelis, he ordered an Egyptian submarine based in Libya to sink the Queen Elizabeth II, which was carrying Jews on a cruise to Israel, an order contravened by Egyptian officials; on another occasion, he moved all the desks out of Government offices because he thought his deputies spent too much time at them drinking coffee).

Miss Fallaci's interview with him took place in his compound in Tripoli. Her questions were asked in English and translated into Arabic by an interpreter, though Colonel Qaddafi frequently responded in English without the help of the interpreter. An edited version of the transcript follows.

**MUAMMAR EL-QADDAFI:** I have bad news. There is movement in the American military bases in Europe, especially in Germany, Greece and Turkey. The Americans are preparing paratroopers and armored cars, missiles, gas, neutron bombs and things like that. Yes, a lot of movement; it's serious. If this is really the beginning of the Third World War, we must use any effort to avoid having things precipitate a crisis.

I am trying to persuade the Iranians to release the hostages. A delegation of Iranians has just arrived here in Trip-

oli, composed of men close to Khomeini, men Khomeini listens to. I will give them a personal message for the Imam, asking him to free the hostages. This whole matter is becoming dangerous. Or rather, it could become very dangerous. And not only for America and Iran, but on a larger scale. Of course, we shall remain neutral if something happens to Iran; the Iranians are our brothers. And we small countries can form a very vast front against America.

**ORIANA FALLACI:** I, too, have had news, Colonel. The American Embassy in Pakistan has been devastated, burned, destroyed, and six people were killed. Demonstrations against American embassies also took place in India, Bangladesh and Turkey, and the embassy in Teheran has been mined.

**QADDAFI (laughing):** International revolution against America.

**FALLACI:** To me it seems more like an international provocation, Colonel, and a very well-organized one.

**QADDAFI:** I said international revolution. These things are happening because people hate America. An explosion of hatred toward America is taking place. Everybody hates America, everybody, not only the Moslem countries. Because everybody is or has been oppressed by America and sooner or later will revolt against America — even those countries that are not Moslem.

**FALLACI:** The students who are holding the hostages tied and blind-



*'I would say that my revolutionary role has been strengthened by Iran's revolution.'*

folded in Teheran have said that they will try the hostages even if the Shah were to die or if he were turned over to them. Doesn't this seem like a provocation to you?

**QADDAFI:** No, and I doubt that there would be a trial if something positive happens with the Shah. In any case, you have to understand that such things happen in revolutions. Revolutions are sometimes chaotic. Iran does not even have a government. The students do what they want without any government control, and this means that the incident of the embassy cannot be viewed as a normal conflict between states. Nor can it be judged by traditional criteria, even less, approached by traditional methods.

If I were in the place of the Americans, I would not react as they are. I would take into account the revolutionary circumstances under which the incident took place and is taking place. And I would remember what American policy in Iran was like before the whole thing began.

**FALLACI:** It's not true that the students are acting exclusively on their own, because some kind of government exists. There's Khomeini, who, with only one word, could resolve the drama and instead is purposely making the situation worse and worse. Finally, there is no justification for taking over an embassy, whether it be American or Soviet or Chinese or Italian or Libyan or whatever. An embassy is considered foreign territory, remember? There is something called international law, remember?

**QADDAFI:** I don't agree at all, because when an embassy or some members of an embassy commit acts that go beyond their functions, that are damaging to the host country or the relations with that country, reactions such as those in Teheran may follow. Embassies cannot be granted diplomatic immunity when they perform the kinds of acts I said.

**FALLACI:** Colonel, this is the thesis of Khomeini, who maintains that the American Embassy in Teheran was a center of espionage. So let us clarify things and remember that diplomatic relations between Libya and Iran were renewed after the Iranian students took the hostages. Also, let us remember

that Libyan students have declared their solidarity with the Iranian students. Am I wrong in saying that you fully approve of what is taking place in Iran?

**QADDAFI:** Well, I personally am against the kidnapping of persons and in particular those who belong to a dip-



**'I know  
that there  
are two great powers,  
and that the Soviets  
are friends of ours.'**

lomatic mission. Embassies are, in general, under the protection of the countries that occupy them. But what is taking place in Iran concerns the Iranians and no one else.

I am very happy that the Iranian revolution has happened and that it has been successful twice: first in kicking out the Shah and second in kicking out the Americans. I would even go so far as to say that my revolutionary role has been strengthened by the Iranian revolution. And I want to repeat that in case of an American attack against Iran, even apart from this episode, we will not remain with our hands tied.

**FALLACI:** What do you mean by "apart from this episode"? Everything depends on this episode. Everything began with this episode.

**QADDAFI:** I told you, you have to consider the motivation for taking the hostages.

**FALLACI:** The motive is blackmail, a blackmail whose roots go back to the deplorable protection the Americans always gave to the Shah, but nonetheless blackmail. Khomeini wants to get back his (Continued on Page 116)

# QADDAFI

*Continued from Page 41*

enemy, Riza Pahlevi [Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi], to execute him. Tell me, Colonel, if Uganda asked you to return Idi Amin, would you do it?

**QADDAFI:** If Amin were here, I would think about a reply to your question. But since he is not here, the comparison does not hold up.

**FALLACI:** Amin is here, Colonel. Indeed, we know very well that Amin is hidden here, that he is your guest. He lives in a villa with a park and a swimming pool near Tripoli. He is there with two of his many wives and 10 of his innumerable children. He was even interviewed by that journalist whom you had arrested as a punishment.

**QADDAFI:** No, Amin is not here. Perhaps that journalist interviewed him during a visit.

**FALLACI:** Come on now! What visit? If we want to call it a visit, then even the Shah is on a visit [to America]. Therefore, I repeat: If Uganda asked you for Amin while he is here on a "visit," would you return him or not?

**QADDAFI:** I maintain that every person has the right to ask for political asylum in any country in every part of the world. But I also maintain that the Iranians have the right to ask for the Shah's return. In other words, I am in favor of the Iranian revolution against the Shah and I hope that he will end up in the hands of the Iranian people, as he deserves. But at the same time he has every right to ask for asylum in America or elsewhere. In any event, the case that you are proposing is different, since I do not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

**FALLACI:** We'll talk about that later, Colonel. Now let's talk about Libya in relation to this matter — that is, vis-à-vis the possibility of a world war. What did you and the President of North Yemen — that is, the non-Communist Yemen — say to each other while I was waiting for you tonight? And what does it mean that he came immediately after a visit by the Foreign Minister and chief of the political bureau of South Yemen — that is, Communist Yemen?

**QADDAFI:** There is nothing special about the fact that the President of North Yemen and the representatives of South

avor  
of our revolution. North  
Yemen, too, is against the  
United States.

**FALLACI:** I see. And prob-  
ably they discussed with you  
the bcycotting of the dollar  
and the cutoff of petroleum to  
America. Is it true that Libya  
is prepared to accept Iran's  
appeal to the Arab countries,  
refusing payments in dollars  
for oil?

**QADDAFI:** Yes, the substi-  
tution of the dollar by other  
solid currencies is being seri-  
ously considered by the Arab  
countries which export petro-  
leum, the OPEC countries. To-  
gether with Iran, Iraq and Al-  
geria, Libya is seriously study-  
ing the matter. And so are  
Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the  
Emirate states.

**FALLACI:** Which means  
that Libya and those other  
countries might imitate Iran  
even in regard to other deci-  
sions, such as withdrawing  
money deposited in American  
banks?

**QADDAFI:** Yes, this deci-  
sion could also be taken. This,  
too, is under serious study by  
the Arab countries that have  
deposits in American banks.  
We are working toward a col-  
lective measure. It was time:  
we have given America more  
than enough time to respect  
us. But America continues to  
make fools of us, to make  
things difficult for us by pro-  
tecting Israel, and we are fed  
up. We are acting in self-de-  
fense.

**FALLACI:** Colonel, it's a  
well-known fact that there is  
plenty of Libyan money in  
American banks, more than  
Iranian funds. What if the  
American banks freeze those  
funds as they did with the Ira-  
nians?

**QADDAFI:** They have no  
right to do that. They cannot  
do that!

**FALLACI:** Yes, they can.  
And if you try to withdraw  
those funds, they'll do it. They  
have already said they would.

**QADDAFI:** It would be an  
act of aggression, an unjusti-  
fiable act of aggression. And it  
would further undermine  
American prestige; it would  
increase the hatred toward  
America. In such case we, too,  
would react brutally because  
we, too, are capable of causing  
America serious trouble.

**FALLACI:** By not selling  
your oil to America, which  
amounts to 10 percent of her  
consumption?

**QADDAFI:** Yes, certainly.  
This could also happen and in  
the end it will.

**FALLACI:** Come on, Colo-  
nel. Everybody knows that  
America is one of your best

customers, perhaps your best one, since almost all the oil-pumping equipment is in the hands of American technicians.

**QADDAFI:** I told you that it could happen, that it will happen, if America pushes us in that direction. It depends on America, on her attitude toward us, toward the Arabs, and not only with regard to Iran but with regard to the conflict with Israel as well. We do not ask America to stand on our side. We ask America to remain neutral. If not, we will strike back with economic blows of every kind, including refusing to supply our petroleum.

**FALLACI:** Colonel, you know very well that America will continue to support Israel. And with regard to Iran, you know very well that if the hostages are not freed, if they are put on trial, if they're condemned to death, if one of them will be killed, just one, Carter will do something. You yourself said that there was activity at the American military bases and we all know that American ships are heading for the Persian Gulf.

**QADDAFI:** Thus it is clear that we are moving toward the refusal to supply petroleum as a political weapon. Undoubtedly the moment has arrived to use our oil as a political weapon. We are already on that road. And we will deny it to them.

**FALLACI:** When? In a matter of days, weeks, months?

**QADDAFI:** We have no prefixed deadlines. It depends on the oil technicians, on the economic experts, on the Libyan people, who have to discuss the matter in their congress. Right at this moment I can only say that we are heading in that direction.

**FALLACI:** And will the embargo also affect European countries?

**QADDAFI:** It depends on the European countries. Those who support us will be looked upon as friends, those who side with America will be our enemies. We are friends of those who love us and we are the enemies of those who hate us. We will not help those who help American imperialism.

**FALLACI:** You belong to a country that calls itself non-aligned, and to be nonaligned means, or should mean, not to serve either of the two blocs, neither of their imperialisms. Why do you always refer to the Soviet Union as a country that has no blame, that has no ulterior motives?

**QADDAFI:** Let me repeat that I judge things based on my experience. My experi-

**QADDAFI:** The people of Chad are against the French troops. We have the right to interfere in Chad in order to help the people fight against the French troops, the same right as when we intervened in Uganda against Nyerere, who was advancing with his troops.

**FALLACI:** Excuse me, Colonel. First you tell me that you didn't help Uganda to get rid of Amin because you don't have the right to interfere in the internal affairs of that country; then you tell me that you wanted to help the people of Chad because you had the right to intervene. First you say one thing, then you say the opposite. For the sake of coherence, may I remind you that you were already in Amin's Uganda before the war with Tanzania? Why were you there?

**QADDAFI:** Because Amin was and is against Israel. Because Amin is the first African president who had the courage to kick the Israelis out of his country. Because Amin is a Moslem. And Nyerere is a priest who governs a people who are primarily Moslems. You don't know anything! You don't even know the reason

why Nyerere hates Amin, why he slanders him. So I'll tell you why: because he is afraid that the Moslems of Uganda will go and liberate the Moslems of Tanzania. He wants to be the master of Africa, which is why he is using the weapons of the African Liberation Movement. Amin's internal policies do not interest me; what I am interested in is Amin's position in the field of international relations.

**FALLACI:** If a tyrant who slaughters his people merits the friendship of Colonel Qaddafi just because he hates the Jews, then Colonel Qaddafi was born 40 years too late. You should have lived when Hitler killed the Jews. Yes, Hitler would have been a very good friend for you.

**QADDAFI:** The situation is now different. Today, the Jews occupy the land of the Palestinians. And those very same Jews were in Uganda, in charge of all the military and administrative positions. Their objective was to seek an alliance with African nations in opposition to Arab nations. Your hostility toward Amin demonstrates imperialist feelings and hostility against the

Arab revolution, Palestine and Islam. If the few Libyans I sent to Uganda to train Amin's forces bothered you, what about the 50,000 Tanzanian troops that are there now?

**FALLACI:** What about [Jean-Bedel] Bokassa [former President of the Central African Republic]? Do you also approve of Bokassa, who roasted children and ate them?

**QADDAFI:** Bokassa? Well, Bokassa is the same case as Amin. That is, the private personality of Bokassa and Amin might not be to my liking, I might even disagree with their internal policies; but I dislike even more the interference of France and Tanzania, and worst of all I dislike the support provided by you Westerners to Israel.

**FALLACI:** What has Israel got to do with Bokassa, who roasts children and eats them?

**QADDAFI:** It has. Because it is your attitude that drives the fedayeen to die and to kill the Israelis in Palestine. Your giving of arms to Israel! Your unwillingness to understand the Palestinians, your refusal to help them! You Westerners

you are so unloved and so unliked?

**QADDAFI:** I am not loved by those who are opposed to the masses and by those who are against freedom. I am loved by those who fight for the masses and for freedom, always and everywhere.

**FALLACI:** But let's see what is being said about you, the charges against you. Where shall we begin? Perhaps with your friendship for that bloody criminal Idi Amin. People ask, "How can Colonel Qaddafi be a friend of such people?"

**QADDAFI:** The fact that you ask me this question using these words — "How come Colonel Qaddafi is a friend of such people?" — demonstrates the high regard in which I am held. Yes, such a high regard as to arouse surprise when I make a choice that does not meet with your approval. But why are you all so surprised? What is so surprising? All the news about Amin is false, false and artificial, the result of Zionist propaganda. In addition, everything that you know about Sadat is false and artificial, even what you know

about Israel. You Westerners don't know anything. Instead of talking against Amin, you should condemn [Julius] Nyerere [President of Tanzania], who has occupied Uganda. You should condemn France for occupying the Central African Republic.

**FALLACI:** Perhaps I didn't express myself clearly, Colonel, so let me rephrase the question. Why can you, a self-expressed champion of justice and freedom and revolution for oppressed peoples, give hospitality and protection to that pig Amin? Why didn't you help Uganda get rid of Amin instead of helping him to keep Uganda by terror?

**QADDAFI:** Had I, have I the right to interfere in other regimes and to bring their downfall? Didn't I just tell you that those who do such things must be condemned?

**FALLACI:** Many times, Colonel, so it's time to remind you that, under the pretext of helping oppressed people, people who, by the way, are oppressed only when it's convenient to you, you interfere very much in the affairs of other countries. Even too much. In Chad for example.

**QADDAFI:** The people of Chad are against the French troops. We have the right to interfere in Chad in order to help the people fight against the French troops, the same right as when we intervened in Uganda against Nyerere, who was advancing with his troops.

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are the ones who make war the only possible solution.

**FALLACI:** Colonel, I have the impression that when you say America and Israel you mean the West. The same as Khomeini. In other words, I have the impression that your hatred for America and the Jews is in reality hatred for the entire West. Just as in the case of Khomeini. Don't you realize that in this way we go back a thousand years, to the times of Saladin and the Crusades?

**QADDAFI:** Yes, and the fault is yours: the Americans, the West. Even a thousand years ago the blame was yours, the West. You have always been the ones who have massacred us. Yesterday as today.

**FALLACI:** But who is massacring you today, where?

**QADDAFI:** Did Libya invade Italy or did Italy invade Libya? [Italy invaded Libya in 1911 and Italian forces remained there until after the Second World War.]

**FALLACI:** I want to ask you a question that I've had in my mind for a number of years. When I said to myself, "I want to interview Qaddafi," I thought, "If I see him I will ask him why he deported the bones of Italian soldiers buried in Libya."

**QADDAFI:** And you, why did you expel from Italy the Arabs, who were there for 250 years and had given you the light of civilization? Why did you expel them from Spain, where they had been for 800 years with the same purpose? The cause was exactly the same: they were invaders.

**FALLACI:** The dead? The bones of the dead? Invaders?

**QADDAFI:** Certainly. And yet, as is our custom, we conducted ourselves with great civility. You have to understand that many Italian cemeteries, just as many Islamic cemeteries, were blocking building plans I had drawn up after the revolution. Thus they had to be upturned. But to show that we did not intend to commit an act of violence, we told Italy that if she wanted the bones of her soldiers she could come and get them. Otherwise they would have been dug up by bulldozers and thrown away.

**FALLACI:** I see, and what happened to the tombstones? Isn't it true that you used them as construction material for a cafeteria?

**QADDAFI:** Foolishness! Lies! This is exactly the kind of news that shows the hatred that you have for us. And since you raise the subject, let me tell you that other bodies of

Italians will soon be expelled from Libya. Not only the tombs of the Italians who came here in 1911 were blocking building plans of the revolution: also those of Second World War soldiers. And many of these tombs are located right in the path of roads, highways, residential areas and parks, such as at Tobruk and Benghazi. If you don't take them back, they will be dug up by the bulldozers.

**FALLACI:** I see, but let me go back to my little trial, my little indictment. Colonel, there's another reason why you are not liked in the world: your hobby of financing international terrorism. I mean, as long as someone is ready to shoot and to kill, you are ready to offer your protection and help. Wherever it may be, in every part of the world — the I.R.A. in Ireland, the Red Brigades in Italy — is it so or not?

**QADDAFI:** This judgment is not based on facts. It's a judgment that comes from the Zionist propaganda and it reflects your hatred for us because we support the Palestinian cause. According to the Zionists, all the Palestinians are terrorists. It is not by chance that they call "terrorist organizations" the resistance movements which are recognized by the United Nations.

**FALLACI:** No, no, Colonel. My question didn't refer to the Palestinians. But since you raised the subject, let's stop for a moment and talk about Palestinian terrorism. Especially the kind that takes place abroad. For example, the massacre that took place at Fiumicino [Dec. 17, 1973].

**QADDAFI:** What?

**FALLACI:** Fiumicino, Rome's international airport, where the Palestinians killed all those Italians and then —

**QADDAFI:** I'm not aware of that incident. I don't remember.

**FALLACI:** You're not aware? You don't remember? Yet you should, because you have been accused of being behind that massacre, of having financed it. It was published in all the European newspapers.

**QADDAFI:** (Laughs and does not reply.)

**FALLACI:** I see that you do not answer. Then let's put it like this: Do you consider those Palestinian actions in Europe terrorism or not? For example, what about what happened at the Olympics in Munich?

**QADDAFI:** These are matters that concern whoever was

involved and depend on their evaluations of the situation. Acts of violence between the Palestinians and the Israelis have been reciprocal. Didn't the Israelis kill Zuheir Mohsen in France and Kamal Nasser in Beirut [both were P.L.O. officials]? In general, I am opposed to the hijacking of planes, but when you talk about the Palestinians it is another matter.

**FALLACI:** Which means that when the terrorism is Palestinian you accept it?

**QADDAFI:** No, I say that it's another matter. That is a reaction to Israeli terrorism. Don't you remember when the Israelis shot down a civilian plane of Libyan Airlines filled with passengers?

**FALLACI:** No, I don't remember.

**QADDAFI:** You don't remember?

**FALLACI:** No, I don't remember. You don't remember the massacre at Fiumicino and I don't remember the plane of Libyan Airlines. Thus we're even. Now let's go back to the others you protect. Colonel, what do you think of the Red Brigades?

**QADDAFI:** I think that such phenomena in the West are the result of capitalistic society; that these movements express the refusal of a society that must be overthrown. This, whether they call themselves Red Brigades or hippies or children of God. And even though I'm against the kidnapping of people and of airplanes, I don't want to interfere with what they do.

**FALLACI:** I see. But you didn't answer the accusation I made: helping the Red Brigades.

**QADDAFI:** I said that is only Zionist propaganda, propaganda which goes back to the period when we were still a republic and the world did not understand us. Now we are a *Jamahiriyah* — that is, a congress of the people, and —

**FALLACI:** What has this got to do with *Jamahiriyah*? I'm accusing you of helping terrorism in my own country and you talk to me about *Jamahiriyah*! Let me restate the question: Who supplies the Red Brigades with the Soviet weapons that are repeatedly found in their hands? Could it be that some of the weapons you provide to the Palestinians are diverted elsewhere?

**QADDAFI:** What you're saying won't stop me for one moment from helping the Palestinians.

**FALLACI:** Colonel, you're



Fallaci: 'Why didn't you help  
Uganda get rid of Amin instead of  
helping him?'  
Qaddafi: 'Because Amin was and is  
against Israel.'

still not answering me. I  
asked you —

QADDAFI: I don't care  
a bit about this.

FALLACI: Do you  
mean that you don't care  
if the weapons you pro-  
vide to the Palestinians  
are being used to kill citi-  
zens of a country which is  
not at war with you?

QADDAFI: I consider  
your words to be an at-  
tempt to dissuade me  
from helping the Palestin-  
ians.

FALLACI: Colonel,  
please don't put words  
into my mouth; try to fol-  
low my thought. Let us  
suppose that you are inno-  
cent and that in good faith  
you provide arms to the  
Palestinians who then  
turn around and give  
them to the Red Brigades.

QADDAFI: We are not  
responsible for the use  
that is made of the arms  
we give to the Palestin-  
ians. We give them to the  
Palestinians because we  
believe in their cause and  
because we feel it is our  
duty to help them. What-  
ever happens afterward is  
not my responsibility. If I  
am going to be condemned  
indirectly I prefer to re-  
ceive direct charges. But  
you have no proof.

FALLACI: Maybe I  
have some clues. Here's  
one: a few days before  
[Aldo] Moro [former  
Prime Minister of Italy]  
was assassinated [in May,  
1978], you offered to inter-  
vene to save his life. If you  
did not have — and do not  
have — contacts with the  
Red Brigades, how could  
you say that you were in a  
position to save Moro's  
life?

QADDAFI: I told the  
Italian authorities that if  
they needed any assist-  
ance we were prepared to  
help. Had I been in touch  
with the Red Brigades, I  
certainly would have  
saved Moro's life because  
he was our friend, he sup-  
ported the Arab cause.

But I thought that you  
had come here to talk

about my Green Book and  
instead since we met all  
you asked about is Iran,  
embassies, diplomats who  
are being held hostage,  
Amin and so forth. I an-  
swered your questions out  
of courtesy but, frankly,  
these are matters which  
bore me profoundly.

FALLACI: Colonel, do  
these things seem less im-  
portant to you than your  
Green Book?

QADDAFI: Certainly.  
If you want to have a com-  
plete profile of me, you  
have to ask about my  
Green Book.

FALLACI: Afterward,  
afterward, you will see.  
[But first tell me], what  
do you do with all that  
money you earn from oil,  
aside from financing  
world terrorism?

QADDAFI: I already  
told you.

FALLACI: Yes, you al-  
ready said that the charge  
is not supported by proof.  
Forgive me, then, and let  
me correct myself: What  
do you do with all that  
money, apart from the  
land you buy up and the  
gifts you make to the is-  
land of Malta?

QADDAFI: We do not  
buy up land; we are mak-  
ing investments in certain  
countries through our for-  
eign bank. Business in-  
vestments. With regard to  
Malta, it is a friendly  
country, a liberated and  
neutral country, and the  
money we give is not  
given to the Government  
of Malta. We give it to the  
people of Malta in order to  
help them enlarge free-  
dom and neutrality. Fur-  
thermore, we Libyans are  
not the only ones who help  
Malta. Many others do,  
too.

FALLACI: Why Malta?  
Why not an island in the  
Pacific or, better still,  
Cambodia? Ah, I forgot:  
Malta is in the Mediterra-  
nean. And so is Pantelle-  
ria. Colonel, why are you  
so interested in Pantelle-  
ria? Might it be because  
you want to install a mili-  
tary base there?

QADDAFI: We give

money to those who deserve it. And as long as we are able to do so, we will continue to do so. With regard to Pantelleria, all I know is that we also have a bank there, the Libyan Arab Foreign Bank, and we are investing money through this bank. I don't see anything wrong with this, and the use made of that money is the concern of those to whom the island belongs. Your questions are really strange.

FALLACI: No, Colonel, they're legitimate. We began by talking about the Third World War, remember?

QADDAFI: I prefer to talk about my Green Book, the revolution.

FALLACI: O.K., let's talk about the revolution. But what do you mean by revolution? As I will always recall, even the Greek dictator [George] Papadopoulos spoke about revolution. Even [Augusto] Pinochet [former President of Chile]. Even Mussolini.

QADDAFI: A revolution is when the masses make the revolution. The popular revolution. But even when a revolution is brought up by others in the name of the masses, it is revolution because it is the expression of what the masses want. I mean, it is popular revolution because it has the support of the people and expresses the will of the masses.

FALLACI: It is not very clear. Give me an example.

QADDAFI: Libya, Iran, Vietnam.

FALLACI: But what happened in Libya on Sept. 1, 1969, was not a revolution; it was a coup d'état.

QADDAFI: Yes, but it became a revolution. I struck the first blow and the workers brought about the revolution by occupying the factories, by becoming partners rather than salaried employees, by eliminating the monarchical administration and forming people's committees. In short, by liberating themselves. And the same was done by the students. In fact, only the people count in Libya today.

FALLACI: Really? Then how come everywhere I go I see only your image, your picture? Even on the facade of the Catholic church, which is now a storage depot, there is an enormous picture of you in a military uniform. And the same on the streets, in the shops, in offices. At my hotel they even sell pure silver plates with your picture in the middle.

QADDAFI: What have I got to do with that? The people wanted it this way. What am I

supposed to do to stop them? Can I prohibit it?

FALLACI: Oh, yes, you can. You prohibit so many things, all you do is prohibit; just imagine if you cannot stop this personality cult of yours.

QADDAFI: What can I do?

FALLACI: As a child I saw the same thing with Mussolini.

QADDAFI: You said the same thing to Khomeini. [Miss Fallaci's interview with the Ayatollah Khomeini appeared in The New York Times Magazine Oct. 7.]

FALLACI: True. I always make that comparison when I interview someone who reminds me of Mussolini.

QADDAFI: You also told him that the masses gave their support to Mussolini and Hitler.

FALLACI: True.

QADDAFI: It's a basic charge and it requires a basic response. That is: you don't understand the difference between them and me, between Khomeini and them. Hitler and Mussolini exploited the support of the masses in order to govern the people. Khomeini and I, instead, profit from the support of the masses to help the people to become capable of governing themselves alone. I always call upon the masses to govern themselves. I say to my people: "If you love me, listen to me and govern yourselves." This is why they love me; they love me because I am the contrary of Hitler, who said, "I will do everything for you." They love me because I tell them, "Do it yourselves."

FALLACI: Colonel, if they love you so much, then why do you need so much protection? Before getting here, I was stopped three times by soldiers with guns, then I was searched as if I were a criminal. And there's even a tank at the entrance, with a cannon pointed at the street.

QADDAFI: Don't forget that this is a military camp.

FALLACI: That's right. And why do you live inside a military camp?

QADDAFI: Most of the time I don't live here. In any event, how do you interpret all this protection?

FALLACI: You're terribly afraid of being killed. Not that I blame you. They've tried it so many times!

QADDAFI: This is the ridiculous propaganda that your newspapers print against me and which makes me laugh so much. But even if there had been some attempts, how would you explain them?

FALLACI: By the fact that

also in your country you're not loved very much.

QADDAFI: First you say that I have the support of the masses; then you say that I protect myself too much. You are the one who is contradicting yourself.

FALLACI: No, no. The two things have one common denominator: fear. People applaud out of fear and you protect yourself out of fear.

QADDAFI: That seems to be a strange conclusion. Just like the one about the dictator.

FALLACI: Colonel, since you don't consider yourself a dictator, and not even a president, not even a minister, tell me, what are you?

QADDAFI: I am the leader of the revolution. How evident that you did not read my Green Book.

FALLACI: On the contrary, I read it. It doesn't take very long, you know, 15 minutes at the most. It's so small. My powder compact is bigger than your little Green Book. Well, maybe we Westerners are accustomed to the size of the Bible and of "Das Kapital," but don't you think that your book is a little too small?

QADDAFI: You talk just like Sadat. He says that it fits in the palm of one hand.

FALLACI: It does. Tell me, did you write it all by yourself?

QADDAFI: Yes, yes.

FALLACI: And how long did it take?

QADDAFI: Many years. Before finding the definite solution, I had to meditate a great deal on the history of humanity, on the conflicts of the past and of the present.

FALLACI: And how did you come to the conclusion that democracy is a dictatorial system, that parliament is a fraud, elections a mockery? There are a lot of things in that little book I don't understand.

QADDAFI: Because you did not study it well, and you did not try to understand what *Jamahiriya* is. You have to stay here in Libya to study how a country works when there is no government, no parliament, no representation, no strikes, and everything is *Jamahiriya*.

FALLACI: But what does this word mean?

QADDAFI: People's command, congress of the people. You are really ignorant. Most ignorant.

FALLACI: I'm here to be educated, Colonel, to humbly learn.

QADDAFI: The government doesn't exist; the people's congresses decide everything. The

general congress of the people meets once a year to discuss the decisions of the people's congresses. To discuss them and nothing more. It cannot decide anything, it can only refer to the people's congresses and the people's committees. Do you understand now?

**FALLACI:** No. Who elects [the representatives]?

**QADDAFI:** Nobody! In the *Jamahiriya*, nobody is elected. There are no elections, there is no representation. Oh, how traditionalist you Westerners are! You only understand democracy, republic, old stuff like that. You are not even ready to understand the new era, the era of the masses. First there was the monarchy, right? Then men's struggle led to the republic with its governments and its presidents, correct? Now humanity has passed to another stage and created *Jamahiriya*, which is the final solution.

**FALLACI:** And where is the opposition?

**QADDAFI:** What opposition? What does the opposition have to do with this? When everyone participates in the congress of the people, what need is there for an opposition? Opposition to what? Opposition is against a government. If the government disappears and the people govern themselves, what does one oppose? What does not exist?

**FALLACI:** I oppose, all the same.

**QADDAFI:** Whom?

**FALLACI:** You. Because this doesn't convince me. And so I oppose it. And, since I'm in opposition, what will you do to me? Arrest me? Shoot me?

**QADDAFI:** Look, throughout the entire history of man there has been a movement toward reaching final authority. Yes or no? And with *Jamahiriya* the authority of the people is achieved, the dream is realized. The struggle is over.

**FALLACI:** Maybe it's over for you, not for me. I want to know what happens to me if I refuse this *Jamahiriya*.

**QADDAFI:** But you cannot refuse it. *Jamahiriya* is the destiny of the world. The authority of the people is the final stage. The day of the revolution has inevitably arrived, thanks to the Green Book. In the whole world. And the masses will seize power, and their guide will be the Green Book. And the workers will become partners, and their guide will be the Green Book. And everyone will participate in production, and their guide will be the Green Book.

**FALLACI:** Colonel, Colonel,

tell me: Is there any place for freedom in all this?

**QADDAFI:** Freedom? What freedom? This is freedom. The only true, real freedom. Why do you ask such a thing?

**FALLACI:** Because I read that last year you shot 40 officers who didn't like your *Jamahiriya*. And then I read that in 1977 you shot 55 for the same reason. And then I read that a few months ago, in Benghazi, you had many students hanged in the public square because they were rebelling against the Green Book.

**QADDAFI:** These are the things that make me lose confidence in the West. But why do you write such false things? What is behind all this?

**FALLACI:** Who knows? Jealous people, perhaps. Tell me, Colonel, do you really think that this philosophy of yours, this little Green Book, will change the world?

**QADDAFI:** Without any doubt. Yes, without any doubt. The Green Book is the product of the struggle of mankind. The Green Book is the guide to the emancipation of man. The Green Book is the gospel. The new gospel. The gospel of the new era, the era of the masses.

**FALLACI:** You're not very humble, are you?

**QADDAFI:** No, I'm not humble. Because I can resist the attacks of the entire world and because the Green Book has resolved the problems of humanity and of society.

**FALLACI:** Well, then, you're a kind of messiah. The new messiah.

**QADDAFI:** I don't see myself in those terms. But the Green Book is the new gospel, I repeat. In your gospels it's written: "In the beginning there was the word." The Green Book is the word. One of its words can destroy the world. Or save it. Carter can wage any war against us: to defend itself, the third world only needs my Green Book. My word. One word and the whole world could blow up. The value of things could change. And their weight. And their volume. Everywhere and forever.

**FALLACI:** Colonel, may I ask one last question?

**QADDAFI:** Sure, but be brief. The Iranian delegation is awaiting me. I have to get to work to organize the release of those hostages.

**FALLACI:** Do you believe in God?

**QADDAFI:** Of course, why do you ask me such a question?

**FALLACI:** Because I thought that you were God. ■